Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 02954 01 OF 04 291225Z ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

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AMEMBASSY ROME

ALL EC CAPITALS 0321

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 04 PARIS 02954 VIPTO 024

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE

E.O. 11652: GDS

 $TAGS: OVIP\ (MONDALE,\ WALTER\ F.),\ PFOR$

SUBJECT: VICE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER

CALLAGHAN

1. VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE, COOPER, HARTMAN, BERGSTEN, AARON, HORMATS AND SPIERS MET AFTERNOON JANUARY 27 WITH PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN, CHANCELLOR HEALEY, FOREIGN CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 02954 01 OF 04 291225Z

SECRETARY CROSLAND, TRADE SECRETARY DELL, CABINET SECRETARY HUNT AND OTHER SENIOR OFFICIALS. HIGHLIGHTS OF CONVERSATION FOLLOW:

2. CIVIL AVIATION: CALLAGHAN SEIZED ON OPENING PROVIDED BY MONDALE QUIP ABOUT AIRCRAFT NOISE AT HEATHROW TO REFER TO QUESTION OF CIVIL AVIATION, NOTING THAT US/UK

RELATIONS WERE GOOD EXCEPT IN THIS FIELD, WHERE THEY WERE "POOR." HE ASKED NEW LEADERSHIP TO LOOK INTO SITUATION ON PRIORITY BASIS, SINCE THERE WERE ONLY FIVE MONTHS BE-FORE BERMUDA AGREEMENT RAN OUT. NEGOTIATIONS NOW APPEAR-ED ON DEAD CENTER. VP SAID WE WERE PREPARED TO TAKE A LOOK AT QUESTION BUT HE HAD TO STATE IN CANDOR THAT OUR GOVERNING OBJECTIVE WAS TO ENSURE COMPETITION. DELL AGREED, BUT SAID IT WAS NOT SENSIBLE TO BE SENDING AIR-CRAFT ACROSS ATLANTIC HALF FULL. AT PM'S REOUEST, DELL REVIEWED SITUATION RE CONCORDE, NOTING BRITISH HOPE FOR FAVORABLE OUTCOME ON 10 FEBRUARY OF NEW YORK PORT AUTHOR-ITY CONSIDERATION THIS MATTER. PM EMPHASIZED THAT WHILE HE HAD NOT INTENDED TO START WITH THIS SUBJECT, IT WAS QUESTION OF PRESTIGE AND OF HIGH POLITICAL IMPORTANCE TO BRITISH: IT COULD LEAD TO "TIRESOME DIFFICULTIES IF IT COMES OUT WRONG."

3. ECONOMIC SITUATION: AT PM'S REQUEST, VP OUTLINED KEY ISSUES NOTING U.S. BELIEF THAT 3 STRONGEST ECONOMIES (U.S., FRG AND JAPAN) SHOULD INITIATE "PRUDENT" STIMULATIVE POLICIES WHICH WOULD HELP DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND ECONOMIES LIKE UK. IN ADDITION, SINCE OPEC WAS ACCUMULATING SURPLUSES OF ABOUT \$45 BILLION, ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES MUST WORK OUT WAYS TO SHARE CORRESPONDING DEFICIT. HE DESCRIBED U.S. ECONOMIC PACKAGE AS AMOUNTING TO ABOUT ONE PERCENT OF U.S. GNP. GERMAN PACKAGE AMOUNTED, IN OUR ESTIMATE, TO ONLY ONE QUARTER PERCENT OF GERMAN GNP. JAPANESE STIMULUS PACKAGE WOULD BE CLOSER TO OURS IF THEY FULFILL IT; THEY WOULD REACH, ACCORDING TO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 02954 01 OF 04 291225Z

JAPANESE ESTIMATE, AN OVERALL GROWTH RATE OF 6.7 PERCENT IN 1977. NEW ADMINISTRATION ALSO ATTACHED IMPORTANCE TO MOVEMENT IN MTN AND SAID WOULD TAKE FRESH APPROACH TO IMPART NEW MOMENTUM TO NEGOTIATIONS. U.S. WOULD ANNOUNCE NEW ENERGY PROGRAM BY MID APRIL, WHICH WOULD CALL, INTER ALIA, FOR INTENSIFIED INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN ENERGY R&D, CONSERVATION TECHNIQUES BEYOND WHAT MARKET FORCES WOULD CALL FOR, ACCELERATED ORE STORAGE, ETC.

4. PM REPORTED THAT SUMMIT HAD BEEN DISCUSSED. PM OUT-LINED UK POSITION ON SUMMIT; UK WOULD BE "HAPPY" TO HAVE MEETING LONDON, BUT WAS NOT "SEEKING"
IT; JAPANESE POSITION WAS NOT CLEAR. UK WOULD GO WHEREVER "THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT," BUT IF LONDON WERE TO BE LOCATION MEETING SHOULD BE IN MAY RATHER THAN IN JUNE DUE TO COMPETING UK OBLIGATIONS CONNECTED WITH QUEEN'S JUBILEE AND COMMONWEALTH PM'S MEETING. VICE PRESIDENT STRESSED THAT SUMMIT MUST BE PROPERLY PREPARED, AND SUGGESTED WORKING GROUP BEGIN MEETING TO PREPARE AGENDA,

WHICH WOULD NOT BE LIMITED TO ECONOMIC SUBJECTS. PM

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PAGE 01 PARIS 02954 02 OF 04 291232Z ACTION SS-25

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 04 PARIS 02954 VIPTO 024

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SAID UK WOULD HAVE TO BE "CAREFUL" ABOUT WHETHER IT WOULD BE PRESENT IN DUAL CAPACITY AS PRESIDENT OF COMMUNITY BECAUSE OF PRECEDENT IT WOULD CONSTITUTE. PM SAID UK HAD PROBLEMS WITH REPRESENTATION OF EC COMMISSION AT SUMMIT, BUT WOULD NOT "BLACKBALL" ITS PARTICIPATION. HEALEY NOTED SCHMIDT STRONGLY FAVORED MEETING FINANCE MINISTERS TO PREPARE SUMMIT.

5. AT PM'S INVITATION, HEALEY OUTLINED UK ECONOMIC OUTLOOK. THERE WOULD BE A DIFFICULT YEAR AHEAD, WITH CUTS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 02954 02 OF 04 291232Z

IN PUBLIC EXPENDITURE AND FURTHER REDUCTIONS IN WORKERS' TAKE-HOME PAY. HMG WAS DETERMINED TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH TRADE UNIONS WITHIN TWO MONTHS ON NEXT ROUND OF PAY RESTRAINTS. THEY RELIED ENTIRELY ON EXPANSION OF WORLD TRADE TO IMPROVE ON EXPECTED 2 PERCENT GNP GROWTH IN COMING YEAR. GROWTH OF 3 PERCENT WAS REQUIRED TO KEEP UNEMPLOYMENT FROM RISING, BUT THIS WOULD REQUIRE NET INCREASE IN EXPORTS. HE SAID UK DID NOT FEEL PRESI-DENT'S PROGRAM WOULD RESULT IN U.S. GNP GROWTH ANTICIPAT-ED. IF U.S., FRG AND JAPAN COULD EACH INCREASE GNP BY 1 PERCENT, HE ESTIMATED WORLD TRADE WOULD INCREASE BY 2 PERCENT. UK WAS ALSO DISAPPOINTED WITH GERMAN PROGRAM, WHICH WOULD AMOUNT TO LESS THAN ONE HALF PERCENT INCREASE. AS REGARDS JAPANESE "THEY HAVE A HISTORY OF NOT DOING WHAT THEY SAY." COOPER NOTED THAT WORLD WAS WASTING RESOURCES AT RATE OF 300 BILLION DOLLARS PER YEAR. QUESTION WAS HOW UNUSED CAPACITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT COULD BE BROUGHT INTO USE TO MEET PRESSING GLOBAL NEEDS WITHOUT REKINDLING INFLATIONARY EXPECTATIONS. U.S. ADMINISTRATION EXPECTED U.S. GROWTH IN REAL TERMS OF 6 PERCENT, BUT THIS ALONE WAS NOT ENOUGH TO PULL WORLD OUT OF PRESENT SLUMP. ALTHOUGH PROJECTED \$5 BILLION DECREASE IN U.S. CURRENT ACCOUNT WOULD HELP COUNTRIES LIKE UK. WE HAD STAYED ON SIDE OF CAUTION BECAUSE OF UNCERTAINTIES REGARDING EXPENDITURES ON PLANT AND EOUIP-MENT, AND DESIRE TO AVOID "SUPERBOOM" IN LATER YEARS. WE WOULD LOOK AT THIS PROBLEM AGAIN NEXT FALL IN LIGHT OF 1977 EXPERIENCE. HE ALLUDED TO UNCERTAINTIES ARISING FROM GROWTH IN LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE. PM ASKED VP TO EMPHASIZE TO JAPANESE GROWING POLITICAL DIFFICULT-IES CAUSED IN EUROPE BY THEIR CONTINUING SURPLUSES. VP AGREED THAT THIS POINT SHOULD BE MADE IN TALKS WITH JAPANESE. PM NOTED RISING INTERNAL PRESSURES FOR PRO-TECTIONISM. IF U.S. RESTRICTS IMPORTS OF SHOES, HMG WILL BE PUT UNDER "IRRESISTABLE PRESSURE." IT WAS VITAL THAT JAPANESE OPEN UP THEIR MARKETS. VP CONFIDENTIAL.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 02954 02 OF 04 291232Z

AGREED WE WOULD ALL HAVE TO BE MOVING TO FULL EMPLOYMENT OR PROBLEMS U.S. ADMINISTRATION FACES FROM ITS CONSTIT-UENCIES WILL SNOWBALL. U.S. STEELWORKERS ARE ALREADY UPSET ABOUT EC-JAPAN AGREEMENT ON STEEL AND "WE CAN ALL BE TRAMPLED BY OUR ELECTORATES." U.S. WAS PREPARED TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING IN MTN. CROSLAND DISCUSSED DELICATE

POLITICAL MOOD IN JAPAN AND SAID WE SHOULD STRESS SCOPE FOR JAPANESE EXPANSION IN AID, WHICH IS NOW RUNNING AT ONLY 0.2 PERCENT OF ITS GNP, WITH NO OFFSETTING BURDEN OF MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

6. HEALEY INQUIRED ABOUT NEW ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION ON OECD SUPPORT FUND. COOPER SAID NO DECISIONS HAD BEEN MADE BUT RECOGNIZED NEED FOR SOME ADDITIONAL BACKING OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM.

7. BERGSTEN ADDED THAT U.S. VIEW OF INTERNATIONAL FINAN-CIAL SITUATION ENCOMPASSED THREE ELEMENTS. SURPLUS COUNTRIES MUST EXPAND MORE RAPIDLY OR FIND OTHER WAYS TO ADJUST. DEFICIT COUNTRIES MUST ADJUST RESPONSIBLY AS WELL. IN THAT CONTEXT, ADMINISTRATION WAS DELIGHTED THAT UK HAD COMPLETED IMF LOAN AND STERLING BALANCE AGREEMENT BEFORE JANUARY 20. IT COULD NOW SIMPLY CHEER HEALEY ON IN MAKING SURE THAT AGREED CONDITIONS WERE FULFILLED. FINALLY, PRIVATE MARKETS COULD LIKELY CONTIN-UE TO HANDLE BULK OF FINANCING NEED. BUT PRUDENCE DICTAT-ED ASSURING THAT ADEQUATE OFFICIAL BACKUP EXISTED. THERE WERE NOW ONLY SEVEN OR EIGHT CREDITOR COUNTRIES INCLUDING SEVERAL OPEC MEMBERS AND WAYS NEEDED TO BE FOUND TO UTIL-IZE THEIR SURPLUSES EFFECTIVELY. NEW INSTITUTIONAL DE-VICES MIGHT BE NEEDED. PM "ACCEPTED OFFER" TO CONSULT ON THIS ISSUE. WHICH HE REGARDED AS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO WORLD ECONOMY. HEALEY ADDED THAT HE WOULD NOT HAVE CHOSEN OECD SAFETY NET APPROACH, BUT IT SHOULD NOT BE DISCARDED UNTIL SOMETHING BETTER IS AVAILABLE, PREFERABLY IN NEXT TWO - THREE MONTHS. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 PARIS 02954 02 OF 04 291232Z

8. CROSLAND DREW ATTENTION TO "ACUTE PROBLEM OF TIMING"

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PAGE 01 PARIS 02954 03 OF 04 291237Z

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ALL EC CAPITALS 0323

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 03 OF 04 PARIS 02954 VIPTO 024

EXDIS

ON CIEC PREPARATIONS, POINTING OUT THAT WORKING LEVEL MEETINGS ON UNCTAD COMMON FUND WOULD BEGIN MARCH 7 AND NECESSITY TO HAVE POSITIONS PREPARED. VP SAID CIEC MINISTERIAL MEETING SHOULD BE HELD BEFORE SUMMIT CONFERENCE BUT ONLY AFTER WE HAD TIME TO PREPARE POSITIONS. CROSLAND SUGGESTED LATE APRIL - EARLY MAY TIME FOR CIEC MINISTERIAL. BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO RESIST "COMPLETE" DEBT RELIEF AND INDEXATION PROPOSALS. IT WAS NOTED THAT FCO REPRESENTATIVE (MICHAEL BUTLER) WOULD VISIT WASHINGTON NEXT MONTH TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 02954 03 OF 04 291237Z

APPROACHES. DELL REITERATED THAT UK NEEDED TO KNOW NEW ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION ON COMMODITY COMMON FUND, BUFFER STOCKS, ETC., PRIOR TO MEETINGS, AND WHERE WE GO AFTER NAIROBI "COMPROMISE." VP RAISED ISSUE OF ACCESS TO SUPPLIES, WHICH MIGHT BE HANDLED IN GATT, AND DELL ASKED FOR U.S. IDEAS ON THE SUBJECT.

9. RHODESIA: AT PM'S REQUEST CROSLAND OUTLINED PRESENT SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. HE SAID THAT AFTER SMITH'S STATEMENT ON SEPTEMBER 24, BLACKS ASSUMED SMITH WOULD "DISAPPEAR" FROM SCENE. SEEING HIM STILL IN FULL CONTROL

AFTER TWO MONTHS, THEIR POSITION HARDENED. DURING LAST WEEK OR SO SMITH HAD FELT HIS GRIP WAS THREATENED BY UK PLAN AND HE HAD REJECTED IT, TO SURPRISE OF BOTH THE BRITISH AND SOUTH AFRICANS. SMITH FELT THAT HIS SECURITY FORCE HAD BEEN STRENGTHENED RELATIVE TO GUERRILLAS AND WAS NOW PREPARED TO TRY "INTERNAL OPTION." HE CALCULATED THAT THIS WILL INCREASE GUERRILLA MILITANCY, AND AS ATROCITIES INCREASE, SOUTH AFRICAN, UK AND U.S. OPINION WILL MOVE IN HIS FAVOR, WITH U.S. "COMING OFF THE FENCE ON HIS SIDE." CROSLAND FELT THE ODDS WERE AGAINST SUCC-ESS FOR SMITH IN DEVELOPING INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. ALTHOUGH WE COULD NOT EXCLUDE POSSIBILITY OF MUZOREWA COOPERATION AFTER FRONT LINE PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO BACK PATRIOTIC FRONT. IT WAS VITAL TO KEEP SMITH DISABUSED ABOUT ANY PROSPECT FOR SOUTHERN AFRICAN AND U.S. SUPPORT. IT WAS OF "UTMOST IMPORTANCE" TO CONTINUE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT, HOWEVER MERITORIOUS THEY WERE, FIVE POINTS WERE NOW DEAD AND THE ONLY BASIS FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WAS UK PRO-POSALS. HE EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO VORSTER AUTHORIZED BY SECRETARY VANCE. SINGLE MOST IM-PORTANT STEP U.S. COULD TAKE, HE SAID, WAS REPEAL OF BYRD AMENDMENT.

10. VP POINTED OUT THAT PRESIDENT CARTER FELT VERY STRONGLY ON QUESTION OF MAJORITY RULE. ANDREW YOUNG'S CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 02954 03 OF 04 291237Z

APPOINTMENT WAS NOT INADVERTENT; HE HAD A PERSONAL RE-LATIONSHIP WITH FRONT LINE LEADERS. ON BYRD AMENDMENT PRESIDENT WANTED REPEAL BUT "THIS WOULD TAKE A LITTLE DOING" EVEN WITH CHANGED EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS. HE STRESSED THAT IF SMITH THINKS WE WOULD DO OTHER THAN SUPPORT UK, HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND AMERICAN POLITICS. AARON ASKED WHAT BRITAIN SAW AS NEXT STEPS AND WHETHER THEY HAD DEVELOPED ANY ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES.

11. CROSLAND REPLIED HE HAD "NOT THE FAINTEST IDEA" AS TO THE NEXT STEP. THERE WERE STILL CRITICAL UNKNOWNS, I.E. WHAT VORSTER WOULD SAY TOMORROW. HE NOTED THAT NKOMO HAD SHOWN UP IN LONDON THE SAME DAY HE WAS EXPECTED TO MEET RICHARD IN LUSAKA, AND RICHARD STILL HAD PLANS TO MEET MUGABE AND NKOMO IN AFRICA. UNTIL RICHARD WAS BACK AND HIS REPORT DISCUSSED AT LENGTH IT WAS TOO EARLY TO DECIDE ALTERNATIVE STRATEGY. PERHAPS IT WAS BEST

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PAGE 01 PARIS 02954 04 OF 04 291229Z ACTION SS-25

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ALL EC CAPITALS 0324

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 PARIS 02954 VIPTO 024

EXDIS

"TO LET SMITH STEW." HE SUGGESTED SCHAUFELE COME TO LONDON FOR CONSULTATION WITH FCO ON NEXT STEPS. NOTHING WOULD BE DONE WITHOUT FULL CONSULTATION WITH U.S. VP SAID U.S. WAS GRATEFUL FOR UK ROLE, RECOGNIZED DIFFICULTIES IN SITUATION AND THAT UK COULD COUNT ON OUR FULL SUPPORT.

12. CALLAGHAN VISIT TO UNITED STATES: IT WAS REPORTED ANNOUNCEMENT OF CALLAGHAN'S VISIT MARCH 10-12 HAD NOW BEEN AGREED, AND WOULD BE MADE TODAY. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 02954 04 OF 04 291229Z

13. CYPRUS: PM ASKED IF U.S. WAS "IN THE MOOD FOR A NEW INITIATIVE." UK WANTED TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH ANY NEW U.S. MOVE AT VERY EARLY DATE.

14. VP SAID HE WOULD REPORT THIS REQUEST AND RECALLED WE HAD BEEN IN TOUCH WITH BRITISH ABOUT U.S. PLANS TO SEND EMISSARY TO THE AREA SOON.

15. COMMERCIAL ARMS TRANSFERS: VP MENTIONED U.S. DESIRES TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT ESCALATING ARMS SALES, PARTICULARLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. PM ALLUDED TO DIFFICULTIES IN DEALING WITH THIS SUBJECT BUT SAID UK APPRECIATED U.S. OBJECTIVES AND WOULD LOOK AT SPECIFIC U.S. PROPOSALS SYMPATHETICALLY.

16. ILO: PM ASKED IF NEW ADMINISTRATION WOULD TAKE "A NEW LOOK" AT U.S. POSITION ON WITHDRAWAL FROM ILO, STRESSING THAT THIS SUBJECT WAS ONE OF IMPORTANCE TO UK TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP. HE HOPED NEW ADMINISTRATION WOULD HAVE A DIFFERENT APPRECIATION OF THIS PROBLEM. VP SAID THAT THERE WERE STRONG VIEWS IN U.S. LABOR MOVEMENT ON THIS ISSUE BUT THAT PM'S REQUEST WOULD BE REPORTED TO PRESIDENT.

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Message Attributes

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